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SEPTEMBER, 1953

MONTHLY REVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST MAGAZINE

INDO-CHINA AND FRANCE

THE EDITORS

"PROGRESS" IN THE SOUTH

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MCCARTHY'S KAMPF

ARTHUR EGGLESTON

THE HARVEY O'CONNOR CASE

LEO HUBERMAN

A BID FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

SCOTT NEARING

VOL. 5

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EDITORS . . . LEO HUBERMAN . . . PAUL M. SWEETZ

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

In Notes from the Editors in the July issue, we called attention to the urgent need for simple, clear, up-to-date material on socialism. We pointed out that one of MR's functions, as we have seen it from the beginning, is to fill that need. One way we have tried to do this is through our pamphlet series—full details of which are set forth on page 223—especially numbers 1, 3, 4, and now most recently number 7, the 64-page booklet entitled *The ABC of Socialism*. If you were to buy all seven pamphlets separately, you would have to pay \$1.75. Last month we offered them all together as the MR Pamphlet Packet for \$1, and the response was most gratifying. More than a hundred readers have already taken advantage of this offer. But we think there are many more who could and should make effective use of this

(continued on inside back cover)

INDO-CHINA AND FRANCE

With the Korean War at least temporarily halted, Indo-China remains the scene of the only full-scale war with which the world is afflicted today. For this reason alone, Indo-China is certain to be in the center of the news in the months ahead. But there are other reasons, too. No lasting settlement in the Far East is conceivable until peace has been restored in Indo-China; nor is there any prospect of a lasting settlement in Europe until France has extricated herself from Indo-China and is once again in a position to make her full weight felt in European affairs. For all these reasons, this is a good time to review the situation in both Indo-China and France, with a view to discovering, if we can, what possibilities the future holds in store.

In origin and essence, the war in Indo-China is a struggle for national liberation from colonial bondage. But owing to the facts of geography and world politics it could not help becoming, in addition, a part of the larger contest between world capitalism and world socialism. The United States, at first uninterested, gradually became more and more involved on the French side; while the Soviet Union and China, having recognized the Vietminh national liberation government, naturally extended to it increasing material and moral support as the need developed. At the same time, the remaining countries of the world lined up on one side or the other, with the imperialist powers and those smaller countries most closely tied to American foreign policy naturally siding with France, and the socialist countries and those but recently freed from colonial status just as naturally siding with the Vietminh. The governments of the so-called Associated States of Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia), which have never enjoyed the slightest independence of Paris, have played a relatively minor role in the war to date, although they might become politically important in the future.

Militarily, the situation in Indo-China is and has been for the past seven years one of stalemate, with the French very gradually losing ground and the Vietminh slowly gaining not only territory

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but also economic and military strength. The strategic picture is reminiscent of China during the period of the Japanese occupation: the French, like the Japanese, hold the main cities and lines of communication; while large areas of the countryside are in the hands of the Vietminh, just as most of the Chinese countryside was in the hands of the Chinese guerrillas. An additional similarity is that the Vietminh holds a compact region in the north of the country where its seat of government is located, much as the Kuomintang and the Communists held areas respectively in the southwest and northwest of China.

The comparison between Indo-China today and China under Japanese occupation undoubtedly goes deeper than mere surface similarities. Neither the Japanese nor the Chinese ever had the strength to achieve a decisive victory, and, barring outside intervention, the military stalemate could probably have gone on for years if not decades. The same seems to be true in Indo-China now. The French have the planes and tanks and firepower to hold the heavily populated centers; at the same time they are virtually powerless against the Vietminh in its own strongholds. The essential relation of forces is dramatically revealed in the following dispatch from Saigon which appeared in the *New York Times* of July 30th:

An attempt by a French and Vietnamese force estimated at 12,000 men to encircle and destroy two battalions of Communist-led Vietminh troops in a coastal strip of central Vietnam was reported authoritatively today to have failed.

The French, who attacked the Vietminh stronghold by air, land, and sea yesterday morning came across the same problem they had met many times before—resourceful enemy forces who had succeeded in melting away despite the large number of troops brought to bear on them. . . .

Instead of a violent attempt of the Vietminh troops to break out last night, nothing happened. Today, in the course of the advance, none of the enemy was met. It appeared that some Vietminh forces succeeded in slipping through the net by small groups while others adopted civilian clothing, hid their arms, and mixed with the native population. Still others were believed well-hidden in camouflaged caves and underground installations.

The present stalemate could doubtless be broken if one side or the other were able to acquire a sufficient increase in strength. The French, if they had the necessary manpower and equipment, could introduce a complete reign of terror over the whole country, as the British have done and are doing in limited areas of Malaya and Kenya. The Vietminh, if it had the necessary artillery and tanks

and planes, could drive the French out of the country. But without massive outside assistance, neither side is likely soon to acquire what would be needed to break the impasse by military means.

If, then, we leave aside for the moment the question of outside intervention, it appears that as far as France and Indo-China are concerned there are only two possibilities: either (1) continued military stalemate or (2) a negotiated settlement. Let us consider these in turn.

(1) Prolongation of the military stalemate, of course, could not possibly have any attractions to the Vietminh; but, strange as it may seem to some people, there are powerful forces in France for which it is, if not the best conceivable, at least the best attainable solution. These include, first, the corrupt colonial (and to a certain extent military) bureaucracy which has made a good thing out of the Indo-Chinese war and, through the notorious piaster racket, has won allies in all the right-wing and center parties inside France itself.* Second, there are French capitalist interests that profit heavily from operations in Indo-China. According to *Business Week* (August 1, 1953, p. 75):

A half dozen powerful French firms, led by Banque de l'Indochine, still control all the banking, transportation, communications, power, rubber, and most of the rice market in the country. And these firms make a tidy profit out of it.

These colonial capitalists are afraid that a negotiated settlement would mean the beginning of the end of their privileged position: they prefer to see the war continue. They are joined, third, by capitalists with interests in other French colonies (especially North Africa) who take the same position for a related reason: they know that if concessions were made in Indo-China it would be more difficult to resist the demands of France's colonial subjects elsewhere.

Such are the forces in France which favor continuing the war even in the absence of any prospect of victory, and anyone who is familiar with the inner workings of French history during the past seven or eight decades will understand how enormously powerful they are. Indeed, the fact that the war has already dragged on for seven years is sufficient testimony to their power in the French state.

* The piaster racket is too complicated to explain in detail here, but the way it works is roughly this: The French government, by maintaining an artificially high exchange rate for the piaster (the Indo-Chinese currency unit) enables well-placed insiders to use francs to buy cheap black-market piasters in Saigon and then sell them at an enormous profit to the Bank of France in Paris. Mounting criticism recently forced the government to devalue the piaster, but the chances are that continued inflation in Indo-China either already has reopened or soon will reopen the gap between the black-market and the official rates and set the racket in motion again.

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But they are not omnipotent, and their dominance over France's Indo-China policy has been increasingly challenged in recent months by those whose interests are injured by the continuance of the war. Moreover, it is really no exaggeration to say that the sufferers from the war are the entire French nation excepting only the numerically tiny minority which benefits from it. Casualties have been heavy (135,000, including 48,000 killed, for the combined French-Vietnamese forces), and every year the number of officers wiped out has been approximately equal to an entire graduating class of the St. Cyr military academy (France's equivalent of West Point). Taxes have been kept much higher than they otherwise would have been: through 1952 the war cost \$3.6 billion, or more than total United States aid to France since the beginning of the Marshall Plan. The diversion of military strength to Indo-China has so weakened France in Europe that she has become increasingly dependent on the United States and has been forced to accept a German policy which most Frenchmen regard as dangerous if not actually disastrous. French political life has been poisoned and corrupted by the schemes and machinations of the various kinds and grades of war profiteers. For all these reasons, it is a matter of vital interest to the overwhelming majority of the French nation to put an end to the war in the only way that an end can be put to it, through a negotiated settlement. The wonder is not that there is now a rising tide of sentiment in favor of a negotiated settlement but that it has been so slow to develop and so effectively kept in check by the shady forces that want the war to go on.

(2) What form could a negotiated settlement take? It is hard to see how there could be a partition of the country on the Korean model. There is no front, or rather there are a hundred fronts; the division of the country is on a city-country basis, not on a north-south or an east-west basis. This means that a settlement must be political rather than territorial in nature: some formula would have to be found for bringing the Vietminh into the governments of the Associated States and for granting these reconstituted governments the substance of independence for which the Vietminh has been fighting and which even the present puppet regimes are demanding. From the French point of view, such a solution would be tantamount to an admission that the war had been a mistake and never should have been entered upon in the first place. But since this is the plain truth, and since more and more Frenchmen are coming to see that it is the truth, an admission of this kind is by no means ruled out. It would, without doubt, amount to a victory for the Vietminh, and indeed for all the people of Indo-China except the imperialist hangers-on, but it would also be the cheapest and best way out for France.

At this point, however, we encounter the real obstacle to a negotiated settlement in Indo-China, the adamant opposition of the United States. No one in the American government doubts that a free Indo-China would quickly ally itself with China and enter upon the path of social reconstruction which China is already following. But to Washington that spells "losing" Indo-China to Communism: a coalition government, says *Business Week* (August 1, p. 74), "probably would mean a Communist-dominated regime within a relatively short time." And that, in turn, would endanger the "free world's" hold on all of south and southeast Asia, as President Eisenhower himself emphatically told the state governors at Seattle on August 4th. The President continued as follows:

So you see, somewhere along the line, this must be blocked and it must be blocked now, and that's what we are trying to do.

So when the United States votes \$400 million to help that [Indo-Chinese] war, we are not voting a giveaway program. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory and from southeast Asia.

The continuance of the war in Indo-China is thus declared on the highest authority to be a cardinal aim of United States foreign policy. Naturally, administration and military leaders talk about *winning* the war, but it should be specially noted that from the point of view of "holding" southeast Asia, which Eisenhower proclaims as the reason for America's interest in the war, it is not necessary that France should win—it is only necessary that France should neither lose nor bring the war to an end through a negotiated settlement. Hence American support for the French war effort makes sense even if, as seems quite possible, our highest military leaders have little confidence in France's ability to triumph. The United States government has become in effect the ally of the French military and colonial interests which want merely to keep the fighting going so that they can continue to line their own pockets.

It is this situation which explains what at first sight seems so puzzling, namely, why the growing opposition within France to the Indo-Chinese war has so far had no effect whatever on French policy. For to seek a negotiated settlement with the Vietminh would mean not only that the French government would have to break with the "colonial" bureaucrats and capitalists; it would also mean that France would have to declare her independence of the United States and prepare to do without American financial and military assistance,

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very probably even to stand up to active American hostility on a whole range of issues involving vital French interests. The French bourgeoisie as a whole might bring itself to the first of these two breaks, but only a minority of it—though, as we shall see, a not unimportant minority—is willing to face the second. And with the French working class split along ideological lines and isolated from the peasants and lower middle classes, the dominant factions of the bourgeoisie are in undisputed control of the government.

One is tempted to conclude that the military stalemate in Indo-China is paralleled by political stalemate in France, that the rising tide of opposition to the war in Indo-China must necessarily break on the rock of American policy, that the war is destined to drag on indefinitely while the French people pay a mounting cost in blood and treasure. And yet it would be quite wrong to draw these conclusions. There is nothing immutable about the present relation of political forces in France. Moreover, it is clear that a shift of sufficient magnitude could break the stalemate domestically and allow France to embark upon a new course in Indo-China, and that this in turn could quickly lead to a negotiated settlement with the Viet-minh and an end to the war. Whether or not the war continues is unlikely to be decided on the battlefield, but it may well be decided in the arena of French politics.

Is such a shift in French politics possible? And if so, what form would it take?

As it happens, these are questions which we can answer with reasonable confidence. A development of the kind envisioned is possible; it has happened before on at least two occasions, during the early thirties and again in the final stage of World War II. It even has a name—a name, significantly enough, that has been reappearing lately with increasing frequency in French political discussions, a name that is full of hope to many and of dread to some: *front populaire*.

The popular front in its French form—and France is really the classic home of the popular front—is a definable political phenomenon which can occur only under specific political conditions. Its first ingredient is working-class unity, its second ingredient an alliance between the working class on the one hand and the peasantry and lower middle classes on the other, and its third ingredient an important degree of disunity in the bourgeoisie. It can occur only if (1) the objective pressures making for working-class unity are stronger than ideological differences among Communists, Socialists, and Catholics; and (2) the bourgeoisie is divided over the best way to serve its own interests. When these conditions are fulfilled, the opportunity exists for left-wing leadership to seize the political initiative, forge an effec-

tive degree of working-class unity (*front unique*), rally the peasants and lower middle classes to their cause (*front populaire*), and take charge of the government with the active or passive collaboration of the disaffected section of the bourgeoisie.

In 1934 it was the imminent threat of fascism and the misery of the depression that produced working-class unity; and it was the issue of deflation versus inflation as a way out of the depression that produced bourgeois disunity. During World War II, it was the pressure of the Nazi occupation plus the obvious and urgent need of far-reaching postwar reforms that brought workers of all political and religious faiths together; and it was a difference over the question of *laissez faire* versus state interventionism that divided the anti-German and anti-Vichy bourgeoisie.

Today, the issues are of course different, but the pressures and divisions which result from them are basically similar. The working class is harried by high prices, high taxes, general economic stagnation, insecurity of employment; and it sees with ever increasing clarity that the only way to overcome these conditions is to halt the war in Indo-China, drastically reduce military commitments and expenditures, raise the purchasing power of the masses, and embark upon a program of full employment and economic modernization. Objective conditions, in other words, are pushing workers toward common action in defense of their interests and in defiance of their organizational and ideological differences. At the same time—a factor of no small importance—developments in the Soviet Union are having the effect of reducing the ideological bitterness between the Communist workers on the one hand and the Socialist and Catholic workers on the other (though not, it would seem, between Communist and Socialist leaders). On the bourgeois side, an increasingly serious disagreement is developing between the majority which believes that its only safety lies in faithfully following United States policy and a minority which believes that capitalist interests would be better served by relaxation of international tensions and resumption of large-scale East-West economic relations: needless to say, the longer the Soviet-bloc peace offensive continues, the stronger and more vocal this minority becomes.

If this analysis is right, the conditions for a new popular front are clearly maturing. And, indeed, there are many indications of this in the political sphere. The working-class movement, after a long period of relative quiescence, has become much more active in recent months, and cooperative action between rival unions is increasingly common. The Communist Party has officially called for the reconstitution of the Popular Front, particularly evoking memories of the 1934-36 period; in the municipal elections last spring local

Communist and Socialist groups did unite here and there. The Socialist Party leadership, which still regards the popular front as a threat rather than a step forward, is well aware of pressures from below for working-class unity: it proved this at the party's recent national convention by putting forward the slogan of a "social and democratic front"—a conception which, to be sure, is somewhat vague but which is nonetheless obviously intended to serve as an acceptable substitute for a popular front.

But perhaps the most convincing evidence of all comes from bourgeois sources. The length and severity of the recent governmental crisis in France was in large part caused by the specter of the popular front hovering in the background. The bourgeois parties seemed to be aware that a business-as-usual policy, or rather a government-as-usual policy, was leading to trouble—for them. And at least one major attempt was made around the Mendès-France candidacy to take the bull by the horns and initiate a new policy before history should catch up with the French bourgeoisie in the form of a third popular front. But Mendès-France was defeated without ever taking office (and probably would have been able to accomplish little even if his candidacy had been accepted by the Chamber). As though exhausted by the effort, the bourgeois parties heaved a great sigh and overwhelmingly voted into power a ministry of compromise and stalemate headed by a nonentity. But they must have known that they were merely postponing the day of decision—or was it perhaps fatalistically inviting the day when the power of decision would be taken out of their hands?

At the height of the crisis, M. Lecourt, head of the parliamentary delegation of the Catholic MRP, stated:

In our view, what dominates the crisis is the threat of the rebirth of a popular front directed by the Communist Party. (Quoted in *L'Observateur*, July 2, p. 6.)

And from the Left came answering voices: in the words of Gilles Martinet, one of the editors of the independent socialist weekly, *L'Observateur*:

It is continuously necessary to make a choice: either with the current or against the current. And let there be no mistake: in a few months' time the current will be that of the popular front. (*L'Observateur*, July 16, p. 24.)

This is not the occasion to attempt to discuss either the program or the consequences of the new French popular front, if and when it takes shape. But this much is sure: one of its central planks is bound to be the ending of the war in Indo-China through a negotiated settlement with the Vietminh. And it is hardly less sure that if this plank

is carried out, the result will be a revolutionizing of relations between the United States and France and an altered balance of forces among the great powers of the world.

P.S. We discussed and drafted this piece during the week beginning August 4th. Just as it was nearing completion, news came of the great strikes of French government workers. As we write, these strikes are still not entirely over and threaten to flare up again at any moment. It is obviously too early to evaluate their full significance, especially since they have been very inadequately reported in the American press. But there can be no doubt that they represent the high point to date of working-class militancy and solidarity: the Socialist and Catholic unions seem to have taken the initiative and to have received 100 percent support from their Communist counterparts. Present indications are that the action of the government workers will at the very least intensify the pressure for a new popular front and hasten the day of its coming.

(August 13, 1953)

THE "MEN OF OTHER CLIMES" SAY THE MOMENT HAS ARRIVED

"It is in this epoch [of the great explorers] that man arrived at the knowledge of the globe which he inhabits . . . And among the happy consequences of the discoveries in question may be included the resources of every kind which those productions afford to mankind; the truths which the knowledge of those objects may have added to the sciences, or the long received errors that may thereby have been destroyed; the commercial activity that has given new life to industry and navigation, and to all the arts and all the sciences; and lastly the force that free nations have acquired from this activity by which to resist tyrants and free themselves from feudal despotism. But these advantages will never expiate what the discoveries have cost to suffering humanity till the moment when Europe, abjuring the sordid and oppressive system of commercial monopoly, shall acknowledge that men of other climes, equals and brothers by will of nature, have never been formed to nourish the pride and avarice of a few privileged nations. . . . If a noble curiosity animated the heroes of navigation, a mean and cruel avarice, a stupid and brutal fanaticism governed the kings and robbers who were to reap the profits of their labor."

—Condorcet, *Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind*, London, 1795.

"PROGRESS" IN THE SOUTH

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"Land reform is a red-hot issue in China and Italy, they tell me. Well, just mention the idea in Wilcox County and see how long you last," a Negro teacher told me when I arrived in Alabama.

And when the strip of that state called the "Black Belt"—because in times past the black soil and the black slave were bled for cotton wealth—became more familiar, the pattern of feudalism was clear. Like the Chinese and Italian landlord, the Alabama peer, too, is embattled. But it is not a people's revolution he faces, it is a "menace" almost forgotten by the rest of the United States: the industrial revolution. To move here from another sector is to move into the past. You become a Connecticut Yankee in King Cotton's Court, with a double sense of amazement because the court knows, in its heart, that the king is dead.

This anachronism magnifies in interest because the Black Belt extends through some 300 counties in six southern states. It starts in eastern Virginia, runs down the coasts of North and South Carolina, cuts across central Georgia and Alabama, touches eastern Mississippi, then skips over to the river boundary of Mississippi and Louisiana. Its distinguishing characteristic is a limestone soil base that often yields fossil sea shells to the plow.

As best I can gather, the Alabama strip is typical of the area, except at those coastal points where sea trade and fishing are possible.

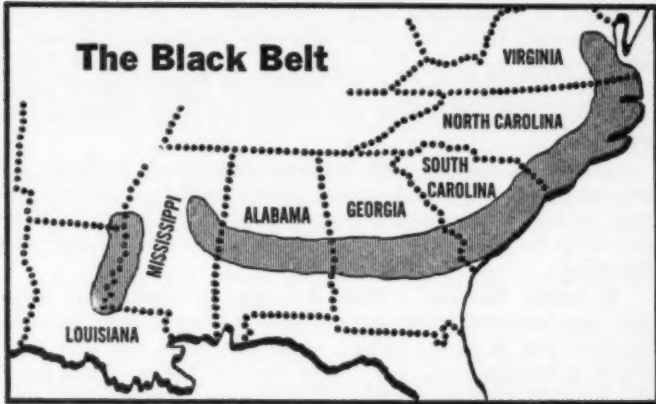
Here is what has happened: The much-abused soil began washing away fifty years ago. It was not, however, until the depression made cotton practically worthless that plantation owners stopped their reflexive drive for "just one more crop." The New Deal's CCC camps and soil conservation projects then moved in and put a shroud of green on the bare white bones of the land. The plantations were turned to pasture, and cattle became the principal crop.

This shift greatly benefited the landowners. Beef prices have been bountiful. What is more, even had the soil held up, its rolling contours would make the use of modern cotton planting and picking machinery largely impractical, and the region could probably never produce as profitably as the present Texas and California centers of cotton culture.

The author is a Southern journalist and educator.

"PROGRESS" IN THE SOUTH

But what of cotton's other ingredient: the Negro? He did not wash away. Brought in in chains, later held in the bondage of the commissary and the "share," his number was encouraged to multiply to man the rows. In the Alabama Black Belt, there are now three times as many Negroes as whites in one county, twice as many in several more, and in none are whites a majority.



In the present economy, however, there is little for the Negro to do, and less that he is permitted to do. The time is that of the Enclosure Laws in England, and the Negro peasant is denied participation in the limited work crews that cattle raising requires; his tenant plot is begrudged him because it occupies possible grazing land.

The present aim of the Black Belt ruling class is to drive the useless Negro out. (How ironic is the hoary cry: "Let Southerners solve the Negro problem their own way, for they have to live with them"!) Humane, but handcuffed, officials recognize this. In pleading for better Negro schools, county superintendents offer the privy argument: Educate them and they'll find jobs elsewhere. In begging for other social grants, welfare workers point out that Negroes cluster together because it takes the labor of so many to earn a bare living for one family group.

But the landowners are resolute in their sterner methods. In many instances they will not sell farm tracts at any price except to persons of acceptable social persuasion.

This attempt at deliberate depopulation—virtually amounting to genocide in its human waste—has achieved some of its aims. Census figures show that Negroes are leaving. But an ominous hitch has de-

veloped: Northern industrialists have seen this reservoir of idle and "congenial" labor. They are desirous of entering the region and relieving the Black Belt barons of responsibility for this outworn commodity.

The favor is little appreciated. The barons foresee not only "liberation" from racial woes, but from prestige and domination over their fellow whites as well. No longer, if jobs were plentiful, would the threat of replacement by a Negro keep the low-salaried white worker cowed. White merchants who exist by cheating Negroes of pennies would move up financially and socially if payroll dollars were put into circulation. All the horrors the English landed gentry experienced with the rise of the factory era loom darkly on the horizon.

The efforts made to block industrialization would be funny, did they not often succeed and prolong hideous suffering. (Seventy-five cents an hour—the minimum wage placed on interstate labor—is often thrice the going rate for Negro work; a white man generally gets fifty cents.)

In Selma, Alabama, a Black Belt city, the Chamber of Commerce was beseeched by small-fry citizens to bring in more industry. The reply was, in effect: "Okay, we know a paper mill that is interested in locating here." The citizens recoiled. "Oh no! Not a paper mill. It would stink up everything." That paper mill—if there ever was one in the offing—served as a buffer for the status quo for years. In a smaller community, a new post office was refused because the government planned to build across the tracks from the established business district—and new businesses might be attracted there! Large landowners, happy with their politically gained asphalt roads, are acutely hostile toward encroaching highway and rail routes.

Industry, of course, will win over the agrarian hierarchy. Given the incentive of defense contracts and low labor costs, its applied strength will prevail. The small businessmen of the South, sensing this trend, are defying their long-time masters to serve as handmaidens to change. The dispossessed Negro and the "poor white trash" are ready to move toward any source that promises better subsistence—or just plain subsistence.

For all these reasons, progress of a sort is being made in the Black Belt. Greater progress is being made in those areas of the South that are a degree less benighted.

But who with an eye for history can celebrate, in the mid-twentieth century, the arrival of capitalism, mid-nineteenth-century style, in the South or anywhere else?

Who can rejoice when many of the new industries are old

Northern industries transplanted? Mississippi's seedling textile factories have been uprooted from New England, leaving great numbers of skilled and organized workers jobless, depressing entire cities. In Chicago recently, desperate workers resorted to a sit-down strike in the vain effort to keep a twine factory from "running away" to Louisiana.

Was there ever a clearer case of the disastrous effects of economic anarchy, the terrible need for responsible social planning? Plenty of new jobs *could* be created for Southern workers at decent wages—the potential demand in this section of the country for food, clothing, shelter, and the amenities of life is enormous beyond description. And old jobs could be saved—and improved—for Northern workers with inherited skills and deep roots in their communities. But one thing is sure, in fact is being proved before our very eyes, these things will never be done by capitalists; they can be done only in a society which consciously controls its human and natural resources in the interests of its own members—only, that is to say, under socialism.

How long will it take workers, Southern and Northern, black and white, to find that out?

Meanwhile, the South threatens to become the Winter Palace of Big Business, and it is high peril to assume that the Southern worker can safely be allowed time to "catch up" before he is shown the necessity of trade unionism and political action. Because of its disproportionate political strength, the South has always applied the brakes to social progress in America. But if the present economic shift is allowed to continue at the capitalists' pleasure, the "new" South may throw the whole country into reverse.

In the present age, any government which had both the power and the will to remedy the major defects of the capitalist system would have the will and the power to abolish it altogether, while governments which have the power to retain the system lack the will to remedy its defects.

Joan Robinson, *The Economic Journal*, December, 1936

I burn up when I think of all the good guys who went out and got killed to protect the rights of a handful of S.O.B.s to make more money for themselves.

—Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson,
Leader of the 1st (Gung-Ho) Marine Raiders.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

By Arthur Eggleston

McCARTHY'S KAMPF

The Eisenhower who *does* believe in discussing personalities performed a public service recently when he labeled Senator Joseph McCarthy "the most dangerous menace to America," "a throwback to the Spanish Inquisition," and a user of "Nazi-like" methods.

"When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler," said Arthur Eisenhower, the President's banker brother from Kansas City. (*Las Vegas Sun*, July 23, in a copyrighted story which has been widely reprinted.)

The impact of this observation by a respectable citizen was the greater by reason of the fact that Washington newspapermen had been plaguing the President to be more specific in his own statements about book burners and character assassins. Everyone knew he was talking about McCarthy but he wouldn't admit it. Thus, the news that one Eisenhower, at least, was taking McCarthy on in a direct and forceful manner received good play.

It is the most natural thing in the world to "automatically think of Hitler" when the McCarthy record and pattern of conduct is studied, because both his strategy and tactics and his pattern of behavior follow some of the major admonitions laid down by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. It is not just vituperation and name-calling to tie McCarthy up with Hitler and Nazi methods.

McCarthy is the spiritual and political heir of Hitler.

The resurgent Nazis of Western Germany, like the fascists and race-haters of America, accept him as such. Wherever you turn, McCarthy is being acclaimed by, or is found to be associated with, or is collecting money from those who were Hitler-lovers yesterday and are McCarthy-lovers today. Yesterday they cheered the gas-chambers that killed off millions of Europeans; today they cheer McCarthy.

Just as striking, and hardly less significant, is McCarthy's aping of Hitler's tried and tested methods.

When Arthur Eisenhower was asked if he thought McCarthy

had any ultimate objective, he replied: "Of course he has. He wants to keep his name in the papers at all costs. He follows the oldest political game, which is 'Whose name is mentioned the most in politics is often selected for the highest office.'" That was precisely the advice given by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, a book which McCarthy studied when he decided to go into politics. (See *McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The Ism*, by Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May, Beacon Press, Boston, 1952, p. 366.) Said Hitler, describing the methods which brought the Nazis to power:

I adopted the standpoint: It makes no difference whatever whether they laugh at us or revile us, whether they represent us as clowns or criminals; the main thing is that they mention us, that they concern themselves with us again and again, and that we gradually in the eyes of the workers themselves appear to be the only power that anyone reckons with at the moment. (*Mein Kampf*, Houghton Mifflin edition, 1943, p. 485.)

McCarthy has been an unscrupulous headline hunter as long as he has been in public life. By October, 1951, he had become so notorious as a publicity-seeker along the lines laid down by Hitler that AFL leader George Haberman told the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor convention: "McCarthy would sell his country down the river for thirty headlines a month." Newspapermen described McCarthy's "success formula" to be: charges make headlines, which make publicity, which makes votes, which make power. The wild charge, the failure to prove it, the escape by means of another wild charge, also without proof, is all too familiar by this time. Hitler used to do the same thing. Ralph Manheim, translator of the Houghton Mifflin edition of *Mein Kampf*, commented that Hitler "makes the most extraordinary allegations without so much as an attempt to prove them." (p. xi.)

An outstanding example of this technique was McCarthy's deliberate choice in 1950 of "Communism in the State Department" as a campaign issue for 1952. He then put on the most amazing shuffle-shoe performance in double-dealing, evasion, and lying ever seen in the Senate. He spun from unproved charge to unproved charge, claiming first he had evidence of "205 active members of the Communist party and members of a spy ring," then "57," then "81," then "three," and finally "one," Owen Lattimore, who was never employed by the State Department and was neither a spy nor a shaper of State Department policy. McCarthy wound up his juggling with figures—and the lives and fortunes of government employees and their families—by brazenly accusing other Senators of playing a "silly numbers game"! The Tydings committee which investigated the charges made the appropriate comment:

We have seen the technique of the "Big Lie," elsewhere employed by the totalitarian dictator with devastating success, utilized here for the first time on a sustained basis in our history. We have seen how, through repetition and shifting untruths, it is possible to delude great numbers of people . . . a fraud and hoax perpetrated on the Senate of the United States and the American people.

But McCarthy had gotten his headlines, thirty times the thirty that Haberman charged he "would sell his country down the river for." The Senate report, perhaps as scathing as any that ever charged a United States Senator with lying, character assassination, and lack of common decency, had no effect on McCarthy's methods or manners. His reading of *Mein Kampf* had paid off, and not only with respect to the methods of getting publicity. More important, he had found the simple, single issue which, as Hitler stressed again and again in *Mein Kampf*, was the only way to political power over "the public, as stupid as it is forgetful." (p. 115.) McCarthy's "Communists-in-government" issue, and his persistent use of it from 1950 to date, fitted to perfection Hitler's admonition: "Never show the masses two or more opponents." Concentrate the attention of the people upon a single foe, said Hitler, adding:

It belongs to the genius of a great leader to make even adversaries far removed from one another seem to belong to a single category, because in weak and uncertain characters the knowledge of having different enemies can only too readily lead to the beginning of doubt in their own right.

Once the wavering mass sees itself in a struggle against too many enemies, objectivity will put in appearance, throwing open the question whether all others are really wrong and only their own people or their own movement are in the right.

Hence a multiplicity of different adversaries must always be combined so that in the eyes of the masses of one's own supporters the struggle is directed against only one enemy. This strengthens their faith in their own right and enhances their bitterness against those who attack it. (*Mein Kampf*, pp. 117-118.)

Hitler lumped together the "Jewish-Marxists," German republicans, Western democracy, Social and Christian Democrats, trade unionists, international and stock exchange financiers, and opponents in his own ranks. They constituted the *one* foe, for convenience called "Jewish-Marxists." McCarthy lumps together Communists, New Dealers, Democrats who are not New Dealers, socialists, liberals, liberal Republicans, and anyone who challenges the dream world in which he plays the hero. McCarthy adds all these

up and gets the one foe Hitler said he should concentrate upon—*Communism*.

Those who most often challenge the dream world McCarthy has created are intellectuals, writers, scholars, scientists, economists, sociologists, historians, and independent minded journalists. The reason is obvious. Theirs are "minds which critically examine what they read and judge accordingly," wrote Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. "We will never be able to win over the intellectuals to any appreciable degree." The McCarthyite attack on American intellectuals—"eggheads", they are called—is beyond all dispute. And again Hitler has blazed the trail for his Wisconsin disciple. Like Hitler, McCarthy wants only people "who believe everything they read"; the rest must be silenced. (*Mein Kampf*, p. 240.) The urgency of this task is shown by Hitler's explanation of historical developments during and after World War I, and McCarthy's explanation of historical developments during and after World War II.

For Hitler, there were no circumstances beyond the control of the Germans who surrendered in 1918. They were guilty of treason, said Hitler, and not just *Hochverrat*, high treason, but *Landesverrat*, treason against the fatherland. These Germans, Hitler's political opponents, were the "cause and the occasion of the unprecedented collapse." (*Mein Kampf*, p. 334.) Allied guns and manpower and industrial production had nothing to do with the loss of the first world war in Hitler's book of history.

So with McCarthy. There were no circumstances beyond the control of General of the Army George C. Marshall, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, President Truman, and the rest of the Democratic administration when the Soviet Union came out of World War II stronger than ever, when the Chinese Communists toppled the corrupt and weak regime of Chiang Kai-shek, when peoples the world over began to throw out their Nazi, fascist, and feudal rulers.

"This must be the product of a great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a scale so vast as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man," shouted McCarthy on the Senate floor, June 14, 1951, "a conspiracy of infamy so black that, when it is finally exposed, its principals shall be forever deserving of the maledictions of all honest men."

Marshall, Acheson, and others, with Truman as their "captive," said McCarthy, deliberately devised and carried out, on orders from the Kremlin, "a planned, steady retreat from victory" and conspired to "weaken us militarily," all as a result of "Soviet intrigue."

"Make even adversaries far removed from one another seem to belong to a single category," said Hitler, and McCarthy carried

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out the master's admonition with a vengeance. He is still carrying it out. Now it is Korea. He wants both Democrats and Republicans who had anything to do with Korea haled before grand juries to see if any of them were guilty of "criminal incompetence or treason."

There is nothing complicated about political and economic developments to a Hitler or a McCarthy. Everything that happens is the result of a "criminal conspiracy," they have both said again and again. It is a helpful theory of history to a politician seeking power, particularly during times of hysteria and frustration. And as Hitler said, "the magnitude of a lie always contains a certain factor of credibility," people "more easily fall a victim to a big lie than to a little one." Besides, "something of even the most insolent lie will always remain and stick." (*Mein Kampf*, pp. 231,232.) In addition, the criminal conspiracy theory of history makes use of those other axioms which underlie both Hitler's and McCarthy's strategy and tactics: sensational charges make big, black headlines and cause excited comment; the truth never catches up with a lie; the attention



I REFUSE TO LET YOU ANSWER THAT QUESTION ON
THE GROUNDS IT MIGHT INCRIMINATE ME ...

of the people is concentrated upon a single foe, which also makes it easier for headline writers.

Some critics have held that McCarthy has outstripped the master, that "where Hitler depended upon the 'Big Lie,' McCarthy . . .

buttresses one falsehood with another, spraying out small untruths in a long stream, and constantly spinning from one lie to another, thus preventing the public from keeping up with the pace." (*McCarthy, the Man, the Senator, the Ism*, p. 366.)

It is firmly established that McCarthy has lied in the past, has gotten a satisfactory number of headlines thereby, and will continue to lie in the future. Whether Hitler alone inspired him or whether McCarthy has drawn upon his own natural resources and made his way to political notoriety largely through his own unaided efforts in the fertile field of untruth may never be fully known. Meanwhile, there is the book, *Mein Kampf*; there is evidence that McCarthy studied it avidly; there are striking similarities between Hitler's thinking and methods and those of McCarthy; and there are the numerous, natural reactions to McCarthy which can be summed up in Arthur Eisenhower's phrase: "When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler."

The dangers of violence that threaten us come not from the needs of individuals but from social circumstances. Murder is an embolus. The disease lies elsewhere. It is not a matter of episodic violence, but of a continuous violation of the principle of the dignity and value of human life. Actually in our society respect for human life is only a professed theoretical ideal.

—F. Wertham, *The Show of Violence*

McKAY'S STATEMENTS STUN BUSINESSMEN

By Lou Schneider

Corporate executives are still stunned by Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay's talk at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce annual convention.

Secretary McKay made it clear that businessmen should be satisfied with only a fair share of profits. That statement is accepted as an official intimation of the Eisenhower administration stand.

In other words, Washington expects all business, from raw materials producers down the line to retailers, to pass on to consumers all benefits from tax cuts and reduced operating costs.

—San Jose Evening News, May 14, 1953

Quick, Doc, treatment for shock!

THE HARVEY O'CONNOR CASE

BY LEO HUBERMAN

There were only two witnesses before the McCarthy Committee in Washington on July 14th. I was one of them. Harvey O'Connor was the other.

O'Connor was on the stand first. His testimony was brief—and magnificent. Here it is, in full:

MR. O'CONNOR: Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement?

THE CHAIRMAN (Senator McCarthy): No. You will answer the question.

MR. O'CONNOR: About my objection to the jurisdiction of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, you may make a statement on that.

MR. O'CONNOR: Thank you.

Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you get nearer to the microphone, Mr. O'Connor, so that we can hear you?

MR. O'CONNOR: My second point would be that this committee has no right to inquire into my writings, under the point of the constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in that regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in overseas libraries, and most certainly I had nothing whatever to do with their selection there.

In the third place, I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just for your information, Mr. O'Connor, we are not concerned with any political views of yours. We would not be concerned about your writings. You are entitled to write whatever you care to write. Any American or anyone else is entitled to purchase your book, your writings. You are here this morning

THE HARVEY O'CONNOR CASE

because your writings were purchased by the old Acheson State Department, distributed throughout the world, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting Communism. Now, when the taxpayers pay for your books, when the royalties of your books, paid by the taxpayer, go into the Communist coffers, then this committee is concerned with that. For that reason, I again ask you the question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased with taxpayers' money and put in our information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

MR. O'CONNOR: I object to the question on the three grounds I have already stated.

THE CHAIRMAN: You can object. Now you will answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you.

MR. O'CONNOR: I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you are ordered to answer.

MR. O'CONNOR: I have already answered.

THE CHAIRMAN: I apparently did not hear your answer, then. You are ordered to answer whether or not you were a member of the Communist party.

MR. O'CONNOR: On the three grounds I have stated, I have declined to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us have the record clear, so that we will know what you have declined to answer. I will repeat the question. At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department and distributed in our information centers, were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

MR. O'CONNOR: My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR: Apparently.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not "apparently". Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR: I refuse to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are refusing on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

MR. O'CONNOR: I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination. All right. You may step down.

Incidentally, I think Senator Mundt wishes that a meeting of the subcommittee be called to have this man immediately cited for

contempt. I will call a meeting of the subcommittee at the earliest convenience for that purpose.

Your other witness, Mr. Cohn?

Only a few paragraphs, but quite possibly of historic importance. McCarthy, you will note, twice suggested that O'Connor could refuse to answer on the grounds of possible self-incrimination—in other words, he could “take the Fifth.” That would have been an entirely honorable and justifiable course which many others, haled before the Inquisition, have followed. It blocks the Committee from inquiring into your politics, and it keeps you out of jail.

But O'Connor chose another course. He refused to answer, not on the grounds of possible self-incrimination, but because “My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of this committee.” He blocked the Committee from inquiring into his politics but in so doing he deliberately ran the risk of going to jail. Harvey O'Connor thereby became the first to follow to the letter the recent advice of Dr. Albert Einstein that “Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.”

Nine days later, on July 23rd, Harvey O'Connor was in fact cited by the Senate for contempt. The citation has been sent to the United States Attorney General who must decide whether or not to prosecute. If he decides to do so, he will ask a grand jury for an indictment. If the grand jury indicts, O'Connor will face trial in a District of Columbia court.

The trial, if it comes, could have one of two outcomes. O'Connor might be convicted, in which case he would be liable to a jail sentence of up to a year. Or he might be acquitted, in which case (1) the Inquisition would have suffered its severest blow to date, and (2) the Bill of Rights would be back in the Constitution where it belongs.

I think you will agree that I was not exaggerating when I said a moment ago that this case is “quite possibly of historic importance.” And yet you would never know it from reading the press. Despite many editorials against book burning and McCarthyism, only one commercial newspaper, *The York Gazette and Daily*, has taken an editorial stand in support of O'Connor. This was no doubt to be expected: we are accustomed by now to such hypocrisy from the capitalist press. But even the radical press—with the notable exceptions of *I. F. Stone's Weekly* and *The Nation*—has been strangely silent on this most important case. A few straight news stories have appeared, but that's about all. And it isn't enough. For Izzy Stone was

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one hundred percent right when he said in his *Weekly* of July 25th: "Should O'Connor be indicted, the stage will be set for a fundamental battle against McCarthy and McCarthyism, in which every American who cares for freedom must support Harvey O'Connor." Now O'Connor *has* been indicted.

MR's editors are prepared to do everything they can for O'Connor's defense, and I am appealing to MR's readers to join us. What organizational form the defense effort will assume has not yet been decided as we go to press: much depends on the outcome of the preliminary legal maneuvering. But I can report that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has already voted to support O'Connor, and there is good reason to hope that at least some trade unions will follow suit. We will keep you informed of developments every month until the case is finished one way or the other. In the meantime, you can do the following:

(1) Write Attorney General Herbert Brownell urging him to refuse to prosecute O'Connor, on the ground that O'Connor's freedom from Congressional inquiry into writings, beliefs, and affiliations is fully protected by the First Amendment.

(2) Use every channel of communication open to you—word of mouth, resolutions before organizations to which you belong, letters to the editor, and so on—to publicize the O'Connor case and to impress upon people its enormous potential significance for *their own* freedom of speech, thought, and association. Everyone you can reach must be made to see that this case has potentially fateful implications. Losing it could be the knockout blow to the Bill of Rights. Winning it could be the beginning of the end of the Inquisition.

(3) Help to meet the costs of O'Connor's defense. Until some definite arrangements have been made for collecting defense funds, you can send the money to us. Mark your contribution clearly "O'Connor Defense" and make checks or money orders payable to me or to *Monthly Review*. We will see that it is used down to the last cent to help win the Harvey O'Connor case.

GOOD LOGIC DEPARTMENT

I suppose the Daily Worker is a capitalist organization. I presume it is. It publishes a newspaper.

—Representative Keating (R-N.Y.) Hearings,
83rd Cong., HR 115, pt. 1, p. 59.

WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

A BID FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP

"Destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of free world leadership," said President Eisenhower in his inaugural address of January 20, 1953. This is probably an overstatement. So far as we know, there is no compelling, inevitable, political imperative which imposes upon the United States, or any other nation, a particular pattern of conduct. The choice seems to rest, not with destiny, but with United States policy makers. We therefore suggest that the President revise his inaugural statement to read: "Destiny has offered the United States oligarchy an opportunity to bid for the leadership of the western world."

The Manifest Destiny doctrine has been repeated many times in history, and on several occasions since the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. President Washington believed in it. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed it. So did Presidents McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Truman. Until 1917, destiny beckoned chiefly from the continent of North America and the neighboring islands. Since 1945, it has extended its call to include Europe, Asia, and Africa geographically, and, ideologically, America's mission to save mankind from the mortal sin of Communism. What the founding fathers declared, President Eisenhower and his millionaire backers are reiterating and underscoring—"The United States must lead (and rule) the world."

It is one thing to proclaim divine ordination for the leadership of a crusade. It is quite another matter to attract, convince, and hold followers. Eisenhower, like Wilson, Roosevelt, and Truman, has put in his bid for world leadership. What is his program and where are his followers?

America's Campaign Slogans

America's campaign for world leadership contains one broad, general plank—"freedom". President Eisenhower, like his two immediate predecessors in the White House, has used the word and its

various derivations repeatedly: "the four freedoms," "the free peoples," "the free world," and so on. In recent pronouncements, "peace" is usually associated with "freedom," making "peace and freedom" the first plank in the United States platform for world leadership.

Another plank, almost equally broad, is "democracy." Like "freedom," "democracy" has been used in many connections: "making the world safe for democracy," "democratic rights," "the democracies," "democratic principles."

A third plank is "private enterprise," with which are closely associated the fourth plank "individualism," and the fifth, sixth, and seventh—"national sovereignty," "self determination," and "governments of our own choosing." The eighth plank is "government of, by, and for the people." The ninth and tenth planks are "the highest standard of living" and, by way of general summary, "the American way of life."

Spokesmen for the United States oligarchy rely on these slogans and promises to make friends and to influence and dominate the policies of the Grand Alliance of Western governments.

The general assumption underlying America's platform for world leadership may be summed up in a few words. Americans are God's chosen people. The American way of life is *the* way for everybody. America's mission is to offer this way to mankind. Opposition or criticism of the American way is subversion. Subversion can be met and stamped out (1) by assertion, argument, and denunciation; (2) by positive and negative economic pressures such as subsidy, boycott, and blockade; (3) by the use of armed force.

Washington's Formula for Leadership

President Eisenhower, who calls himself a Republican, agrees with Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman (Democrats) that the first leadership essential is armed might—the largest air force, the strongest fleet, adequate land forces, the most destructive weapons and instruments. These concepts of military superiority are being implemented, at the moment, by a yearly arms expenditure of about \$50 billion, a sum equal to almost twice the entire national income of the United Kingdom.

Such an assemblage of armed might will preserve the peace, Washington argues, and if peace is violated, will restore it, if need be by a police action or a war in which victory is predetermined by the preponderance of fire power in the hands of the United States.

When it comes down to a working program, money, not guns, is the chief ingredient in the American leadership formula. Buy friends! Between 1945 and 1952, Washington disbursed \$38 billion

in various types of foreign aid.

Friends can be bought. Enemies must be exterminated on the principle of rule or ruin. If the atom bomb will not do the trick, the hydrogen bomb will. Washington has both. This wealth-power formula for world leadership has been used by world conquerors since the dawn of history.

The Formula in Action

America's formula for world leadership is more than a paper plan. It is an action program which dates back for many years. On June 20, 1953, six months after the inauguration of the Eisenhower administration, editors and commentators tried to sum up the achievements of the first half year. Their conclusion was noteworthy—"Eisenhower has carried on the Truman policies." In some instances, as with the excess profits tax, the President went back on his own promises and fought the leaders of his own party in order to continue the Truman program. Present Washington policies are not merely Truman-Eisenhower policies, they are American policies, as they must be in view of the fact that while presidents come and go, the nation and the people live on.

Against whom should President Eisenhower direct the United States policy formula? Against Communism and Communists, of course, in accordance with the Truman Doctrine announced March 12, 1947. With the end of shooting in 1945, its sweep over East Europe and Asia made Communism into Enemy Number One of the United States business-military-political oligarchy and its private enterprise economy.

If Communism is Enemy Number One, the oligarchy, speaking through Eisenhower as it spoke through Truman, will follow a policy of encircling, constricting, and eventually destroying it. This means denunciation and exposure of Communism and Communists, both at home and abroad. It means attack on their economic, political, and ideological positions. At home it means depriving them of jobs, harrying them, ostracizing them, outlawing the Communist Party, sending their spokesmen to jail, executing them. Abroad, "since the Communists know no law and recognize no authority except that of armed violence," they can be held in check, in the last resort, only by military action, including the use of atom bombs.

Since 1946, the United States oligarchy has busied itself with this war against Communism, in its hot as well as its cold phases. It is the chief preoccupation of the oligarchy today.

The crusade against Communism has been led ideologically by the Vatican, politically by the United States. The crusade has been

financed chiefly by the American oligarchy, for the most part with money from the public treasury—taxpayers' money. The program calls for anti-Communist propaganda, economic aid for those fighting Communism, arms for the anti-Communists, funds for stimulating subversion in the Communist world and, as a final resort, the waging of war in Korea, Indo-China, Malaya.

Book burning, smearing, expulsion from jobs, jailing and electrocution for subversives are the highlights of current United States domestic history. Science and technology are working overtime to perfect anti-Communist weapons and techniques. Diplomats, economists, and military experts are preparing to defend the West by restoring European capitalism, shoring up the walls of its crumbling empires, integrating its economy, creating a West European army. More than half of the funds and most of the initiative for these enterprises are coming from Washington. In seven years, \$28 billion in United States aid has gone to West Europe. In France, Holland, Italy, and West Germany, aid has gone, in the main, to governments under Roman Catholic domination. To make assurance doubly sure, the waterways in and around West Europe are patrolled by United States warships, the air bases are occupied by United States planes and personnel. The European army is commanded by a United States general.

Similar policies, less mature in important respects, but following along the same general lines, are being applied in Asia, where, incidentally, Washington has engaged directly and indirectly for several years in shooting it out with the Communists. There the central idea seems to be getting United States trained and equipped Asians, under Chiang in China and Rhee in Korea, to kill other Asians. Where this strategy fails, as it did in Korea and Indo-China, it means using Western personnel as well as Western military supplies, employing boycott, blacklist, and blockade, as in China, and setting up a rearmed Japan as a local police agency to help enforce Washington policy.

This overall strategy includes the use of the United Nations as a pawn in the Cold War. In theory, and under its charter, the United Nations is a sovereign world organization of nations. Since the outbreak of the Korean War, Washington has been pushing the United Nations around, using on that organization the same strong-arm tactics it has employed in dealing with its other allies, but going even further by assuming that the United Nations, which includes in its membership Communist as well as anti-Communist members, is itself an anti-Communist organization.

The Proof of the Pudding

Washington's program has two general purposes. The primary one is to establish and strengthen United States world leadership. The secondary purpose is to restrict and destroy Communism. Beside these general purposes, Washington's policy has had various concrete objectives such as (1) building goodwill abroad for the United States; (2) holding old allies and gaining new ones; (3) winning a victory in Korea; (4) securing a pro-London settlement in Iran, Turkey, and Egypt; (5) helping the French Government win the Indo-China war; (6) influencing the 1953 elections in France, Italy, and West Germany; (7) blockading China economically and politically; (8) countering the efforts of the Peron administration to win influence in Latin America; (9) splitting the Communist bloc by stirring up unrest against the Soviet governments in Russia and Eastern Europe; (10) stabilizing property, class, and power relationships throughout the world in a way that will safeguard the interests of the United States oligarchs. This is a many-sided, complex, Napoleonic action program. Its successful fulfillment requires understanding, foresight, dogged persistence, a wealth of knowledge and experience.

What are the results to date?

First, has the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower-American way improved the prestige-power position of the United States, won it dependable allies, and enabled it to gain its strategic objectives?

The *Wall Street Journal* of July 15, 1953, tried to answer that question in a long special article and in an editorial. The special article, dated from Paris and written by Warren H. Phillips, was headed "Antipathy Toward America. Its Festering in Europe is a Threat to United States Foreign Policy." In the course of the article, Mr. Phillips reports on "the rising anti-Americanism in Europe." Similar sentiments are finding vigorous expression in Asia and Latin America.

The *Wall Street Journal* editorial, titled "So Big," concludes that whatever may have been true in the past, "the United States is no longer so big." It has not been able to get its European army, to regulate European finances, to lower European trade barriers. "More and more we are having to cut our policies to fit the needs and demands of our allies." Instead of an increase of prestige, the United States has suffered such a setback that "there is not a nation in Europe which, when it chose, has not been able to show independence of some United States desire. Even conquered and occupied West Germany has begun to assert itself."

Second, has the program brought unity and harmony to the West?

The answer may be found in the intensified competition for raw materials and world markets, the sharp publicly aired difference of opinion between Britain and the United States which led to the calling of the now postponed Bermuda Conference, and the wrangling between Presidents Rhee and Eisenhower as to who is boss in Korea. During recent weeks the noteworthy tensions have been those between the Western allies rather than between West and East.

Third, has the Truman-Eisenhower program for American world leadership resulted in containing Communism abroad and crushing it at home?

Beginning at the zero point of political authority in 1917, Communism has spread across Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. In North America, according to the official records of Canada and the United States, its advocates have been close to the seats of the mighty. Thirty-five years ago there was no Communist world. Today it embraces a third of mankind.

Fourth, as for the ten concrete objectives mentioned in a previous paragraph, in every case losses are so far in excess of gains that the Communists have been able to hold their own, and something more, in the struggle for world supremacy. If this were not so, why the economic dislocations and the crumbling empires of capitalism? And why the phenomenal gains for Communist economies, described in the latest United Nations study: *World Economic Report 1951-52* (notably in Part I, Chapter 2, "Centrally Planned Economies," including Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China)? If the United Nations statements in this and the volume issued earlier this year, *Economic Survey of Europe Since the War*, are to be taken at anything like face value, the years since 1945 have witnessed severe economic losses for capitalism and startling gains for Communism.

A King Canute Program

America's program for world leadership, sponsored yesterday by President Truman and today by President Eisenhower, flies in the face of historical forces of which its authors are largely ignorant and which they can neither control nor direct. These historical forces, centering in the techniques of mass production, have made business-for-profit and war-for-power as obsolete as the pine-knot torch. Power-age technology destroys scarcity when used productively and annihilates its authors when employed for destruction. The scarcity economy of capitalism and its political dreams of world domination have been rendered improbable or impossible by the discoveries and

inventions of the last two centuries, and by the world sweep of colonial revolt and social revolution of the past fifty years.

Such a program as that of the American oligarchs, even though handled by business and military geniuses, is doomed to disaster as surely as feudal economy and feudal society were supplanted by the economic and political institutions of capitalism. The good intentions, the capabilities, the sincerity of the oligarchs and their hired brains count as nothing against the all-important fact that the means of producing abundance have rendered obsolete an economy like that of capitalism, which is founded on scarcity.

There is no indication that the United States oligarchy possesses the capabilities necessary for successful world leadership. But even though it had the talent and the experience, it could not hope to perpetuate the life span of social institutions whose historical reason for existence has largely disappeared.

Judged from the standpoint of its own frame of reference, there seems no likelihood that where the Spanish, Dutch, French, British, and German oligarchs have failed so dismally and so tragically, their North American counterparts will succeed in providing a leadership that the majority of mankind will accept. Considered from the larger viewpoint of human and world historical forces, the United States oligarchs demanded admission to the power politics gambling ring after destiny had called time on the life pattern of which capitalist imperialism is the chief contemporary example. The American oligarchs in their bid for world leadership are as pathetic as a dry autumn leaf throwing its weight against the winds of late October.

While America may appear to be the one glamorous, victorious and free country to the other nations of the world, we here stand in danger every moment of our lives of being completely dominated by the capitalistic few at the top—about 5 percent—who even now control 95 percent of the wealth. The only thing that keeps us seemingly progressive is the fact that we fight these monopolistic powers, or try to. The progressive forces of the world are the ascending forces. And the ascending forces of the world are made up of the common man.

—Theodore Dreiser, letter to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 1944

"We won the last war. And it's the last war we'll ever win. If we have another, this nation will lose . . . and the enemy we fight will lose, because victory in atomic warfare is no longer possible."

—General H. H. Arnold, Chief of U. S. Air Forces in World War II

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(continued from inside front cover)

aid in spreading the socialist message, and we are leaving the offer open. Please (1) look at page 223 and see what you get for \$1, (2) get out that buck, and (3) send it to us immediately with your name and address (or the name and address of some one to whom you want the Pamphlet Packet sent).

Last month's issue contained the announcement of forthcoming publication of two new MR Press books, David Graham Phillips' *The Treason of the Senate* and Gunther Stein's *The World the Dollar Built*. Orders have started to come in at the specially attractive prepublication prices; in fact the initial response has been better than we anticipated or hoped. We are now in a position to announce publication dates: *The Treason of the Senate*, October 15; *The World the Dollar Built*, November 1. Let us remind you that, while we shall continue to offer these books along with subs to MR at an attractive combined price, the prepublication prices for the books alone will hold only until the actual dates of publication. Details of the offers now open will be found on page 224. The books will be sent out as soon as they are off the press, considerably before official publication dates. Let us have your orders now.

We call your attention, also, to another book which will soon be published by MR Press, *The Present as History: Essays and Reviews on Capitalism and Socialism* by Paul M. Sweezy. This is a large book, nearly 400 pages and will contain . . . but perhaps the best way to tell you what it will contain is to present the Table of Contents, which we are therefore doing, in its entirety, on the back cover. The price will be \$5, but we are offering it prepublication for only \$3, or \$5 in combination with a year's sub to MR. We hope to be able to announce the publication date in next month's MR.

While we are on the subject of MR Press and its expanding list of publications, let us put before you a problem of increasing seriousness. We know that there is a need for a publishing house like MR Press, that more and more worthwhile works of social analysis and criticism are simply unable to find a publisher in these days of witch hunting and book burning. And the reception that MR Press's output has had from people we know to be competent and conscientious judges gives us confidence that we are making an important, if quantitatively small, contribution to filling that need.

But we also know that it is getting harder to reach people who ought to be buying and reading these books. One indication of this is that, so far as we know, *not one single review* of I. F. Stone's *The Truman Era* has appeared in the four months since the book was published. Another is that we have not been able to arrange any regular trade distribution for the three books, discussed above, which are now in the works. We are obviously being forced to rely increasingly on direct sales to MR readers and those who can be personally reached by MR readers. But this means that if MR Press is to survive financially and expand, as we want it to and we believe you want it to, you must intensify your efforts to help us sell these books. Some of you can and will do this as unpaid volunteers. But there may be others who are in no position to act on this basis and yet who could devote time to selling MR Press publications on a commission basis. College and university students, particularly, may find themselves in such a situation, and in addition with promising markets at their doorstep. We would like to work out an arrangement with potential MR Press salesmen which would be mutually advantageous. Let us hear from you if you are at all interested.

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